

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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JULY 13, 1936

Steel Mills Battle Campaign of Unions

Employers Promise to Resist All Efforts of C. I. O. to Organize Workers

VIOLENT OUTBREAK FEARED

Split in Ranks of Labor Complicates Movement to Oust Company Unions from Mills

Bitter labor warfare threatens to break out in the steel industry. There is danger of violent disturbance, and perhaps of a strike which may take its place among the great labor battles of American history. Workers and employers are locked in a struggle to decide whether employees in the steel plants shall join a labor union—the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers. The Amalgamated, as the union is called, has a membership of approximately 100,000 but since 500,000 men are employed in the steel mills, it does not begin to represent the industry. Most of the workers in the steel plants belong to private or company unions—"representation within the family"—which are not connected with the national labor movement.

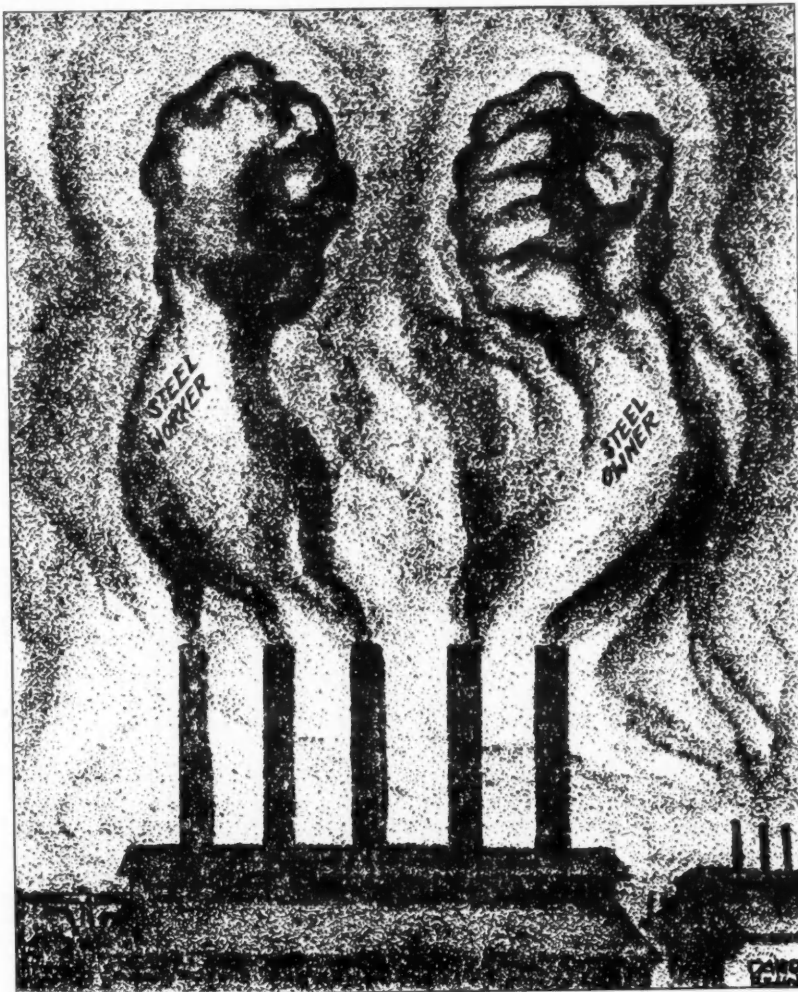
C. I. O.

In order to unionize the entire industry a drive has been started to increase the membership of the Amalgamated. The campaign is being sponsored by John L. Lewis, head of the powerful United Mine Workers of America, and chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, a group of 10 large unions in the American Federation of Labor. The C. I. O. has sent 200 skilled organizers into the areas around Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Gary, Birmingham, and other important steel centers. It is prepared to spend half a million or more dollars to push through a successful campaign to banish the company unions and to make organized labor a force in the steel industry.

The task will not be an easy one. The owners and managers of steel plants, organized in the American Iron and Steel Institute, have pledged all the resources of their five-billion-dollar industry to crush this latest drive to draw their employees into the ranks of union labor. They are vigorously opposed to the union labor movement and claim that the existing company unions are offering the workers all the protection they need.

Attempts have been made on several occasions in years past to organize the steel workers, but each time they have met with failure. In the great Homestead strike of 1892 there was much violence and bloodshed as workers battled with public and private police, and with Pinkerton men hired by the employers to break the strike. Again in 1919 365,000 workers struck in another savage contest for power. But both these strikes were broken and until the present steel has remained largely unorganized. Will this new drive succeed where the others failed? Will the C. I. O. campaign be carried on under peaceful conditions or will the old violence burst forth again? These are questions which cannot be answered now but which may be clarified before many days have passed. Meanwhile let us look at the steel industry and at the conditions which have given rise to this admittedly grave crisis.

(Continued on page 8)



THE METAL IS RUNNING HOT

—Bishop in St. Louis Star-Times

Principles and Prejudices

We are told that we should be principled; that we should not be shifty and haphazard in our conduct; that there are some things for which we should stand though the heavens fall. At the same time we are warned against prejudice. We should be open-minded and tolerant. We should not be too "set in our ways." Is this advice contradictory? Are principles nothing but prejudices in favor of particular forms of conduct? If so, should we be open-minded, tolerant, and experimental in all things, or should we give free sway to our feelings of approval and disapproval even at the risk of being called a creature of prejudice?

We would answer these quite pertinent questions by saying that one must find a place in his life for both open-mindedness and principle—prejudice, if you like. Most people err on the side of leaving too little freedom for themselves. They have so many prejudices, so many fixed ways of doing and thinking, that they are really enslaved. One who always supports a certain political party, for example, has lost his political freedom. He no longer can use his mental powers to exert civic influence. In private affairs, too, we see far too much of persons who are opinionated; who take definite stands the moment they hear a subject discussed; who are certain they are right and that those who disagree with them are inferior or immoral. A person who holds stubbornly to too many positions impresses us as being mulish rather than principled.

At the same time, we like one to be dependable. We like him to stand eternally for some things. The point is that they should be important things. A principle is a prejudice which is attached to something tested and worth while. But how are we to tell what are the matters about which we should keep our minds open and what are the ones we should convert into matters of principle? The only possible answer is that one should use his brains to find out. He should allow his intellect to govern his feelings. He should feel deeply about certain things, but only the things which he believes in intellectually. One should, by act of will, banish the petty prejudices of which he is ashamed in his best moods. He should stand resolutely by the ideas of which he is proud when he is at his best. Perhaps he will be mistaken sometimes. He certainly will be. No one is so wise as not to fail at times to see what course should be approved and what should be condemned. But one who subjects all his prejudices to frequent examination to see whether or not they are worth keeping will surely become a better citizen and a more companionable friend.

Sweden Solves Her Economic Problems

People Have Learned to Avoid Numerous Evils of Capitalism and Socialism

MONOPOLIES ARE CURTAILED

Cooperative Movement Has Succeeded in Preventing Exploitation of Consuming Public

President Roosevelt has sent a special commission to Europe for the purpose of studying the consumers' cooperative movement. The commission will spend two months studying cooperatives in Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, France, and Great Britain. Since Sweden will claim a large share of the committee's attention—the cooperative movement has made great headway there—we are reprinting for the interest of our readers an article on that country which appeared in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER of February 17, 1936.

When Marquis W. Childs, who has spent years studying and writing about Sweden, published a book recently describing conditions in that country, he called it "Sweden—The Middle Way." It is the subtitle which is especially interesting. It indicates that Mr. Childs thinks of Sweden as a sort of middle ground between extremes. And that is exactly what he means, as the reader of the book will quickly discover. He is thinking of countries like the United States on one extreme, and Russia on the other.

In the United States practically all the business is done by private corporations and by individuals. They work for profit, the idea being that if everyone works for what he can make, the interests of all will be served. So Americans tend to oppose any policy which interferes with the profits of those who produce, manufacture, transport, or sell goods. They do not look with favor upon government ownership of industry or any form of competition with private industry by publicly owned enterprises. This system is often praised as one of "rugged individualism," because individuals are expected to look out for themselves with as little interference as possible from the government.

Russia goes to the other extreme and practically does away with private ownership of industry. The government does all the producing, shipping, and selling. No individual is supposed to make profits. Everything except goods held by persons for their own use—goods like clothing and other personal possessions—is owned by the state.

A Middle Course

Many people seem to think that all nations must make a choice between these two systems—that they must take one or the other. Either they must have all business carried on by private companies, or else they must go all the way to communism.

But the Swedes have discovered that there is a middle ground between these two systems. They permit individuals and corporations to own and operate industries and, in fact, more than half the business of the country is carried on in that way. Along with private ownership, however, they have other forms of industrial control. Certain industries are owned by the government. The government owns most of the railroads, for example, and many of the electric power plants. It runs the liquor and tobacco industries, and other enter-

prises. If at any time a majority of the Swedish people decide that a certain form of business can be carried on better by the government, they take it over. They do not have the notion that it is wrong for the government to compete with private industry, or that a business can be run successfully only if those who manage it are permitted to make profits. "How will it work?" is the question they ask, and if they decide that in some particular case public ownership would work well, they adopt that form of ownership or control.

The system of government control is really in many cases half public and half private. The state, for example, owns the liquor and tobacco and radio broadcasting industries, but turns over their management to private companies. The important thing to remember is that the profits of these companies are limited to a very small percentage. The state gets the rest, and uses it to the best advantage of all the people.

There is now on foot a movement in Sweden to extend this governmental control to other necessities of daily life, notably coffee and gasoline, in order that more funds may be provided for old-age pensions. This issue, sponsored by the Social Democrats in the face of a vigorous conservative opposition, will probably figure strongly in the elections this fall. The people will decide what is to be done.

The Cooperative Movement

But it is the cooperative movement in Sweden which has attracted the most widespread attention. In many cases people have joined together into organizations or companies. These organizations are known as cooperatives. These cooperatives own and operate a number of industries in Sweden. This is not a case of government ownership. It is not socialism, neither is it private capitalism of the usual kind. It is a case of individuals who use certain articles, going together, making the articles for themselves, and arranging for them to be shipped, stored, and sold.

These cooperatives are owned and run by the consumers, and, regardless of what else he may be, everyone who eats and wears clothing and uses other things is a consumer. Groups of Swedish consumers became aware that they were paying high prices for many of their goods. There were trusts or monopolies in Sweden as in most other countries. In certain industries big companies practically controlled the market in the things they produced. They ran the small producers out, and had things their own way. They were able to charge very high prices. Consumers then set out to remedy this situation. They decided to go into business themselves.

One of the first and most important efforts of consumers was directed toward the control of the margarine industry. Margarine is a butter substitute which is widely used in Sweden. Most of the factories preparing this product had merged into a trust. By doing this they were able to keep prices far higher than was justified by the cost of production and distribution. In the meanwhile, cooperative stores had been organized. These stores were operated for service and not for profit, and returned a rebate on purchases each year to all members of the cooperative.

Private retail merchants saw in the cooperative stores a threat to their profits. They decided to fight the cooperatives by removing their source of supply, and arranged with the group that controlled the margarine trade to stop selling to cooperative stores. The cooperators at once saw the grave danger, but there was one way in which it might be averted. That was to buy a factory, and make their own margarine. They did just that, and the margarine bosses realized the importance of this move, for they reduced the price of margarine. The cost of raw materials had,

of course, not changed, and the cooperative union made clear to the general public that the lowered price was the result of consumer activity. In less than two years the price dropped to a point the cooperative considered fair, and the power of the margarine trust was destroyed.

Extent of Cooperation

When other manufacturing groups combined to keep prices abnormally high, the cooperative was always ready to step in and fight. They brought down the prices of sugar, soap, chocolate, flour, electric light bulbs, and galoshes, an all-season necessity in Sweden. During the battles, the trusts or "cartels," as they were called, would temporarily slash prices below cost. But the cooperators, thousands of Swedish consumers, had learned where their bread was buttered, and patronized their own stores loyally until the cause was finally won.

The cooperative movement has grown and has extended from one industry to another until now about one-tenth of all the manufacturing in Sweden is done, not by private manufacturers or by the government, but by cooperatives or associations, composed of the people who consume the products. About one-third of all the retail trade is carried on by the cooperative associations. It will be seen, therefore, that the cooperative associations do a very large proportion of all the business that is carried on in Sweden.

Cooperative Housing

Not only do the cooperative associations manufacture, ship, store, and sell goods, but they build houses for the use of their members. The Swedish Cooperative Housing Society has built many modern apartment houses. In Stockholm alone, more than 65,000 people live in such quarters. While the improvements may not seem remarkable to us in America, they are really most unusual in Europe. All the windows, made of one-piece mirror glass, have pleasant views, and most of them have balconies. Walls are soundproofed, floors are fitted with linoleum. Each apartment has a radio outlet device, each house has a cooperative laundry, a garbage incinerator, and a model cooperative nursery where employed mothers may leave their children each day while they go out to work. The tenants in every large apartment have their own cooperative retail store, part of the Stockholm Consumers' Society. In the most expensive of these houses, a one-room apartment with kitchenette and bath is only \$10 a month.

The city of Stockholm, taking a lead from the cooperatives, has also entered this field. For a down payment of only \$80 and an offer to help put the house together, a man can buy a pre-fabricated, or so-called "Magic House," on garden land in suburban Stockholm. The pre-fabricated houses

Houses" have annual incomes between \$800 and \$1,300, and over 70 per cent of the heads of these families are construction and industrial workers, laborers and civil service employees.

Similar houses have been built in other parts of Sweden for workers in cooperative factories or mills. So much of Swedish life is bound up with the cooperative movement that "today the good coöperator in Sweden may live and die within his own system, a system based upon production for use rather than for profit."

How It Works

How, on the whole, has this Swedish "Middle Way"—this system which is neither socialism nor unrestrained capitalism—worked? Have the Swedish people got along as well or better than the Russians who have gone all the way over to public ownership? Or the Americans and British and French and the other peoples whose business is nearly all done by those who operate for private profit?

It is hard to answer that question. We can say that Sweden is getting along comparatively well. She has recovered from the depression in such a way as to make her neighbors envious. The industries which the government operates; that is, electricity production, telephone, telegraph, railways, and the forests are showing handsome profits. More important than that, practically all the people are able to find work. In August of last year, less than one per cent of the population was unemployed. Private industries, like automobile and radio manufacturing, were prospering. There was a mild business boom, and the government's budget for 1935-1936 was completely balanced.

This would indicate that the plan of combining private ownership with government ownership and the operation of industries by the consumers was working very well. Many people, who see in the cooperative movement the way out for all nations, point to Sweden's example and say that it is coöperation in Sweden which has enabled that country to recover so completely from the depression. But we must be careful about making sweeping statements. Many causes may combine to give a nation prosperity, or to bring it into depression. In the United States we have recovered to quite a degree, and yet, right here at home where we can observe conditions carefully, we are not agreed among ourselves what the

causes of the limited recovery are. Should the government have credit for it or has the government held it back rather than furthered it? That is a point about which there is very bitter dispute in the United States.

It does seem, however, that the Swedish people have been sensible in handling their affairs. They are willing to try different plans and to follow those which seem best. In this they are practical. They do not shy away from a plan merely because somebody labels it "radical," or "socialistic," or "collectivist," or because someone points out that it is not the way the Swedish people have done in the past. They ask merely whether the thing, regardless of its name, will work. And even though we cannot say with certainty that the economic experiments they have carried on are wholly responsible for their prosperous condition, we can say that these experiments have not kept them from being prosperous.



COOPERATIVE HOUSING IN SWEDEN

—Courtesy American Swedish News Exchange

They are getting along well enough to justify their confidence that they can handle their affairs more successfully than most other peoples appear to be able to do.

Steel Mills Battle Campaign of Unions

(Concluded from page 8)

committed in its campaign platform against employer-controlled unions. John L. Lewis is a stout supporter and a close adviser of President Roosevelt, and, while the Chief Executive has taken no stand on the steel issue, his sympathies are understood to be with the C. I. O. It is taken for granted, however, that he is anxious above all to avoid disturbance and strike. The government may therefore be counted upon to exert all its influence to bring about a peaceful solution or a postponement of the problem. A strike would retard recovery and might provide ammunition for those who are arguing that the administration is promoting class warfare.

On the other hand, most Republicans are probably just as anxious to see peace continue in the steel industry. The widely publicized statement of the American Iron and Steel Institute declared the companies would maintain collective bargaining "free from interference from any source." It so happens that these are the exact words used in the Republican platform, which lays the Republicans open to the charge that they are not so sympathetic to the plight of the laboring man as are the Democrats. No Republican would care to have the platform interpreted in such a way.

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A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

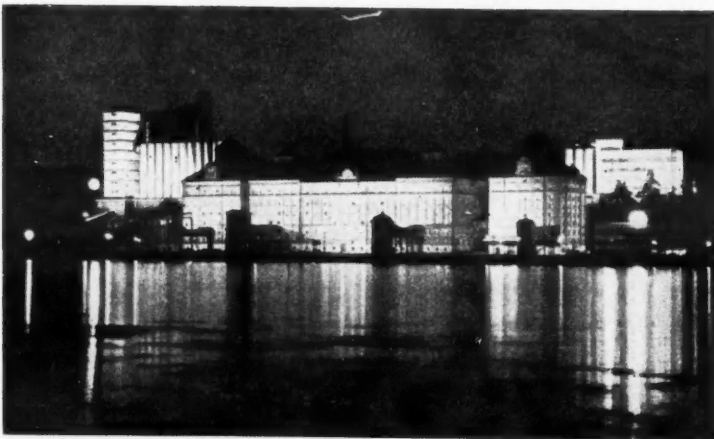
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—Courtesy Swedish Travel Information Bureau

A COOPERATIVE FLOUR MILL AT THE ENTRANCE OF STOCKHOLM HARBOR

are houses the parts of which are built according to a general plan and shipped to the places where the houses are to be put up. There the parts are assembled and put together. This plan permits the large-scale, low-cost production of houses. These houses are just coming into fashion here in America, but over 50,000 people have moved into them in Stockholm alone during the past 10 years. Most of the families in "Magic

AROUND THE WORLD

Ireland: Recent events indicate that the people of the Irish Free State realize to what extent the future of their country is bound up with that of England. It is sometimes difficult, however, to grasp this fact because the Irish temperament frequently deceives observers. Two incidents in the past month point to this difficulty.

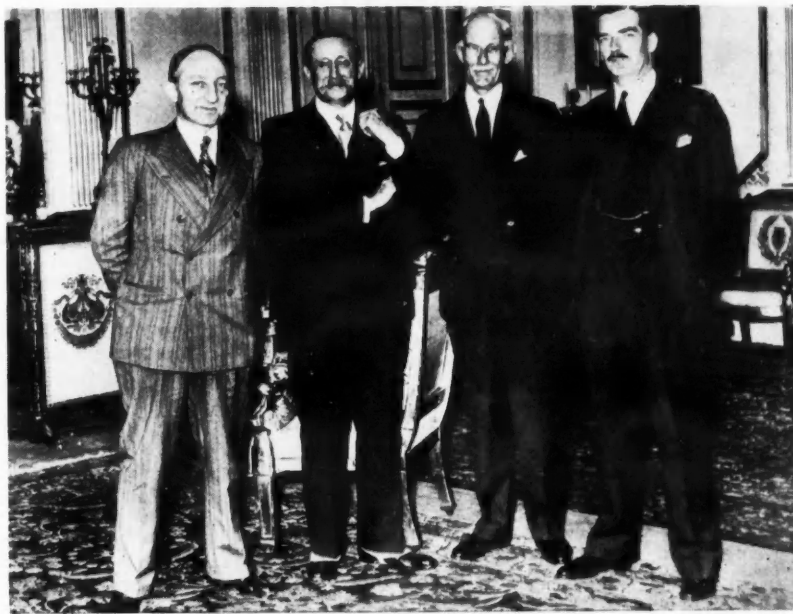
On the one hand, President Eamon de Valera abolished the Senate because that body was too obviously pro-British in its sympathies. On the other hand, he ordered the dissolution of the Irish Republican Army, which represents the extreme nationalists who hate everything British and want their nation to sever all ties, political and economic, with London.

This is not merely a policy of moderation which de Valera is cultivating. His abolition of the Senate reflects the almost ingrained resentment against the British crown that is prevalent among his countrymen. No Irishman feels happy, it is said, unless he can show his teeth to England. He regards it as almost a moral duty to demand freedom from the empire. It is nonetheless true that he would hesitate to accept this freedom if it were offered him tomorrow.

There is good reason for this hesitancy. For the Irish Free State has had partial independence since 1922 and has found it a rather questionable benefit. England had been her outstanding customer. And when the Irish Free State repudiated the land annuities which were being paid to British landholders after their estates had been divided among the Irish peasantry, England slapped a high tariff on Irish beef. The incident was ruinous to the Irish people.

They are therefore more and more inclining to a point of view which while not actually seeking the friendship of Britain will nevertheless remove sources of friction. It is reported that a revised constitution now being prepared by President de Valera will establish concretely the new type of relationship that is to exist between the two countries.

Danzig: One of several territories placed under international supervision by the Treaty of Versailles, the Free City of Danzig has now made a demand for complete independence, ending all control over her by the League of Nations. Up to this time Danzig has been governed in a rather peculiar way. While her inhabitants have had almost complete control over their internal affairs, with only a League high com-



© Acme

PREPARING FOR THE SURRENDER

As French and British statesmen conferred in Paris prior to the League meeting which lifted penalties on Italy. Left to right: Yvon Delbos, French foreign secretary; Leon Blum, French premier; Sir George Clerk, British ambassador to France; Anthony Eden, British foreign minister.

missioner to see that minority rights are respected, Poland has been responsible for conducting her foreign affairs and for administering the customs regulations. This provision had been made in order to afford the Polish people a port.

The immediate cause of the present demand for independence was a report by the high commissioner, Sean Lester, to the League of Nations charging that the Nazi-controlled senate of Danzig was violating the constitution. The report claimed that the government had suppressed freedom of speech and press and had unjustly imprisoned political opponents.

Of far more importance, however, than this immediate incident are the political and economic developments in Danzig during recent years. Her population of over 400,000 is overwhelmingly German. And led on by propaganda from Berlin, the people have come to believe that the League is holding them in subjection and does not regard them capable of ruling themselves. This resentment is further aggravated by Polish control of the port which is of real importance in the Baltic Sea. At one time, the Germans of Danzig could at least appreciate the fact that Poland needed an outlet to the sea. But now that the Polish government has built its own harbor at Gdynia, at the Baltic end of the Polish Corridor, they see no reason for not having control of the Danzig port returned to them.

France: Internal discord and a more determined opposition on the part of the Right face the Socialist cabinet of Leon Blum during its second month of rule in France. While for the most part members of the Popular Front still maintain their confidence in the government, there are unmistakable signs that this confidence is being put to the test.

Thus, at executive sessions of both the Radical Socialists and the Socialists, fears have been expressed that the government, by counte-

nancing communist activities, is undermining the democratic foundations of the republic. Some of the political leaders have pointed particularly to the fact that during the recent strikes Premier Blum took no action against strikers when they illegally occupied factories. Some of the Radical Socialists have even suggested that their party desert the Popular Front and align itself with the opposition. Such a move would probably mean the defeat of the Blum government.

There is already one serious split in the popular ranks. Jacques Doriot, member of the chamber of deputies, has announced the formation of a new party, which, though in sympathy with liberal reforms, is violently opposed to the Communist party. M. Doriot seeks to have the Popular Front purged of communist influences. Leon Blum, under these circumstances, will be faced with the need of accepting one of these factions and repudiating the other. Whatever choice he makes, he apparently stands to lose some of his strength.

Equally harassing to the government are the disturbances created by its opponents. The decree of June 18 outlawing the fascist groups has made them but put on different clothes. Colonel Francois de la Rocque, at whose followers the ban was chiefly directed, has formed a new party which cannot be suppressed because it is no longer an armed league but a political faction. Its new guise, however, has not changed its tactics. And last week, upon the occasion of rekindling the flame at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Paris, riots occurred which resulted in injury to over 100 people.

Geneva: Turning a deaf ear to the appeal of Emperor Haile Selassie and thus bringing to an apparent close an incident whose madness seemed to have touched all of Europe, the League of Nations Assembly decided to recall the sanctions voted against Italy when Mussolini moved his legions into Ethiopia nine months ago. The emperor's speech was greeted with a great deal of respect and even more wordy sympathy, but neither of these sentiments turned the delegates from doing what they decided was the only realistic thing to do under the circumstances.

Having failed to stop the withdrawal of penalties against Italy, the Ethiopian delegation offered two resolutions to the members of the League. One provided for a positive assertion that the League would not recognize any conquest made by the force of arms; the other recommended to League members that they guarantee a loan of \$50,000,000 to permit Ethiopia to carry on her war against the aggressor. But both these resolutions were sidetracked upon purely technical grounds of parliamentary procedure. Finally the Assembly adjourned until September when the problem of League reform will engage its attention.

Russia: What is regarded as a further indication that Soviet Russia is intent upon ending a period of experiments and is now prepared to conduct her national life along normal channels will take place in the next month when the entire educational system will be revised. The first years of the revolutionary era witnessed a dislike for traditional methods of teaching. Soviet educators evolved a new system based upon involved psychological principles. Students were subjected to endless intelligence tests while their parents also were examined in order to determine the abilities of the children. Moreover, backward pupils were not permitted to study with the more intelligent ones but were segregated in special schools.

Various objections to this new system of education arose. It was first charged that to segregate backward pupils is to encourage class distinctions and to condemn part of the students to a position of inferiority. As some of the Moscow newspapers noted, this classification of students seems rather



"FASTER! FASTER!" CRIED THE RED QUEEN.

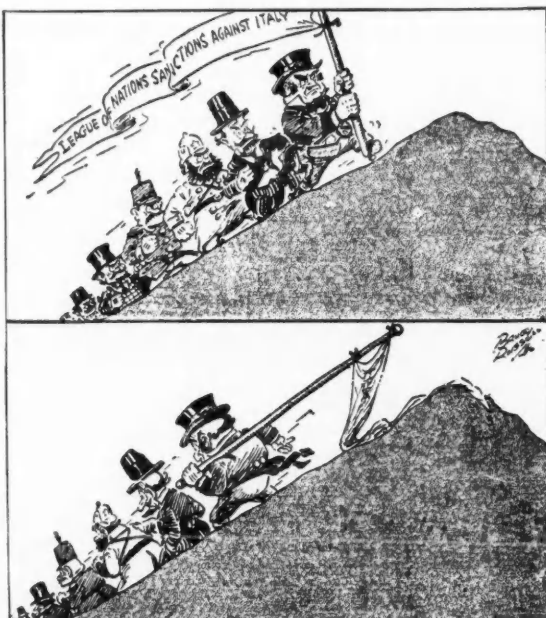
—Herblock in Washington News

too much like what is taking place in Germany, where theories of racial purity are in vogue at present.

In bringing about this revolutionary educational reform, all special schools are to be abolished, textbooks are to be revised, and the more ardent of the modernistic school teachers will be allowed to cool off their newer pedagogy.

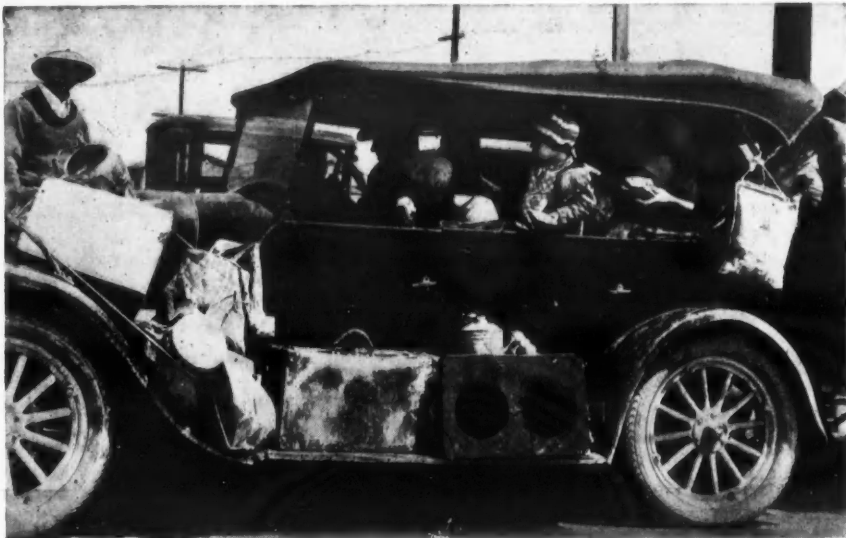
It is reported that Italy has begun intensive fortifications on the Brenner Pass which is her gateway to Central Europe. A network of military roads is being constructed, bombproof shelters and a camouflaged airdrome. These fortifications have aroused considerable apprehension, particularly in Yugoslavia.

Seventeen officers, who participated in the Japanese military revolt last February, have been sentenced to death by a secret tribunal.



"The King of France went up the hill with twenty thousand men—The King of France came down the hill and ne'er went up again."

—Russell in Los Angeles Times



FLEEING THE RAVAGES OF DROUGHT

Hundreds of families are being obliged to abandon their homes in the nation's drought-stricken areas. The federal government is extending help to families rendered destitute.

The President

On July 3 President Roosevelt participated in the dedication of the Shenandoah National Park in Virginia. In a brief address he emphasized the necessity of developing conservation projects, praised the work of the CCC and complimented the young men of the corps for helping promote a national program of conservation. Declaring that we need more parks like the Shenandoah for use by the people, he pledged himself to an expansion of facilities for recreation and conservation.

On Independence Day the President spoke at Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, delivering his address from a stand erected in front of the house which Jefferson had planned and built. He paid tribute to Jefferson as a political leader and as a man who enjoyed meeting difficult situations. He reminded his audience of the versatile nature of Jefferson's ability. Pleading for a retention of our Democratic institutions, President Roosevelt insisted that they could be preserved only by persons with trained and disciplined minds. This emphasis on education was in keeping with Jefferson's attachment to public education, since it was he who was responsible for the establishment of the University of Virginia more than a century ago. At Monticello the President was enthusiastically introduced by Senator Carter Glass who has been a severe critic of New Deal policies.



THE SIGNBOARDS ARE SPECIFIC

—Ray in Kansas City Star

After the meeting on Independence Day, the President traveled to Richmond, accompanied by Virginia's governor, George C. Peery, meeting large crowds at the towns en route. At Richmond he embarked for a two-day holiday cruise to Washington, stopping on the way to visit Williamsburg, the old capital city, where he and his party attended church services.

Drought

Secretary Henry A. Wallace and Harry L. Hopkins, WPA administrator, have gone into the Northwest to investigate drought condi-

tions which are rapidly assuming disastrous proportions. Meanwhile, President Roosevelt has conferred on the drought problem with Rexford G. Tugwell, resettlement administrator, and with Aubrey Williams, assistant WPA administrator. He has requested these men to effect a close coordination of all government agencies in meeting the drought problems and has asked them to provide him with daily reports on the situation. The President announced a few days ago that he hoped to visit the Northwest in August to learn at first hand of the actual conditions.

In his recent announcements the President has insisted that the drought, despite its seriousness in some quarters, will not produce a food shortage. This is true, the President says, because corn and wheat acreages are larger this year than in 1933 or on the average from 1928 to 1932. He stated that this year's wheat crop, based on reports from the Department of Agriculture, would yield 600,000,000 bushels. This crop yield, combined with the carryover of 150,000,000 bushels, will be more than enough to meet the normal demand of 650,000,000 bushels needed for domestic consumption. The President further insisted that it was not the intention of the government to attempt to transplant large numbers of farmers from the drought area to other regions where rainfall is ordinarily more abundant.

The prolonged siege of hot, dry weather has taken 150 lives, and has brought destitution to over 200,000 families. It has produced the ruin of the spring wheat crop. Wheat prices have risen to \$1.10 and prices of other cereals have risen proportionately. Meanwhile temperatures continue to soar, with 120 degrees reported in North Dakota and more than 100 throughout the corn belt.

More Housing

The housing division of PWA is demonstrating the possibility of providing low-cost housing, especially in those cities which are willing to cooperate with the federal government. PWA Administrator Harold L. Ickes announces that his organization will make an additional grant of \$5,000,000 to New York City, on a basis of 45 per cent furnished by PWA and 55 per cent provided by the city. Langdon W. Post, tenement house commissioner of the city administration, has expressed great satisfaction over the willingness of federal officers to encourage New York's efforts to improve housing conditions.

This allotment of \$5,000,000 is for buildings in addition to two low-cost housing projects in New York in which PWA assumed the entire cost of construction. These projects, now being built, are the \$12,000,000 Williamsburg unit, and a \$5,000,000 construction in Harlem. Mr. Ickes announces that Cincinnati is also likely to receive a housing grant from PWA on a 45-55 basis.

The first PWA housing project will be occupied this fall, according to Mr. Ickes, when the Techwood homes will be opened in Atlanta. The average monthly rental in the Atlanta project for completely serviced apartments

The Week in the

What the American People

will be \$27.77. Within a year 100,000 people in the United States will be provided with housing under PWA projects.

Governor Landon

Governor Landon has returned to Topeka from his 10-day vacation in Colorado where he fished, hiked, rode, and found time to confer with party leaders. At Topeka he will perform the dual role of governor and Republican presidential nominee. As governor he read a message to the special session of the Kansas legislature which convened a few days ago to deal with the problem of social security. As presidential nominee he will draft his acceptance speech to be given on July 23 when the Republican National Committee formally notifies him of his nomination.

While Governor Landon went to Colorado to rest by way of preparation for his campaign, he held numerous conferences with advisers while vacationing. In Colorado he was in constant touch with his advisers—the chief of whom are Charles P. Taft, Ralph W. Robey, and Earl H. Taylor. Taft is the son of the late President Taft; Robey is an economist; Taylor is an agricultural editor.

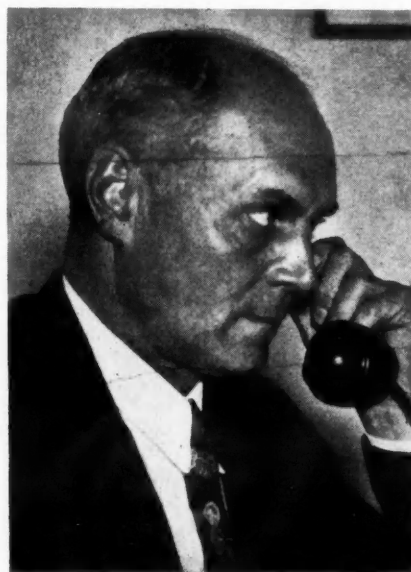
Better Recreation

The National Recreation Association reports a large increase in the facilities available for leisure-time activities. Basing its conclusions on studies of more than 2,200 communities, the report states that the number of bathing beaches, public golf courses, and swimming pools doubled between 1925 and 1935. Substantial increases are also noted in the number of tennis courts and playgrounds. The men and women employed to direct recreational activities increased from 17,177 to 43,976 while the public expenditures rose from \$19,000,000 in 1925 to \$37,000,000 in 1935.

This expansion of recreational facilities has resulted in part from the interest which has been shown by the federal government. The allocation of money from FERA and also from WPA for recreational projects has stimulated many communities to expand their leisure-time programs or to initiate new ones.

Miss Perkins Hopeful

Business conditions in the United States are better than they have been since 1929. Such is the claim made by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. Miss Perkins, relying upon data secured from the American Federation of Labor and also from the Bureau of Labor Statistics,



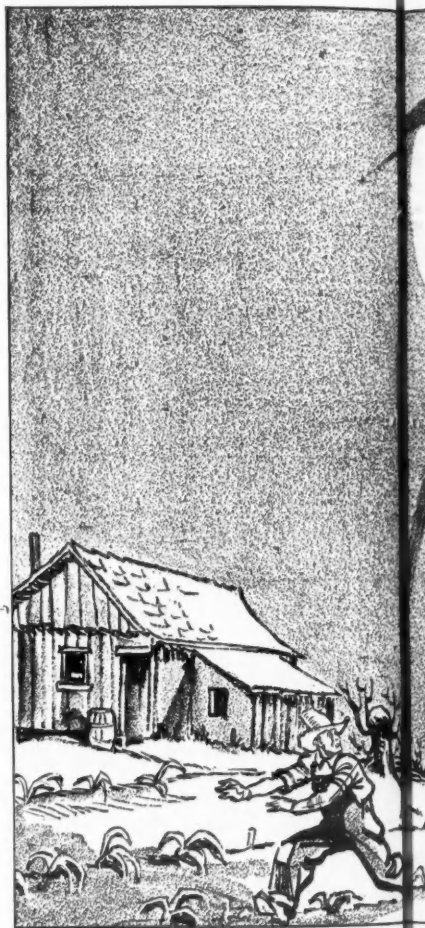
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INVESTIGATOR

Louis R. Glavis, who has won fame as head of PWA's 400-man detective force, has been designated chief attorney for the Senate Campaign Investigation Committee which will watch campaign expenditures.

claims that there are more than 46,000,000 people employed now, about 2,000,000 less than the number in 1930 but 5,370,000 more than in March 1933. Furthermore, the national income, which amounted to \$83,000,000,000 in 1929 and which fell to \$39,000,000,000 in 1932, has risen to a \$55,000,000,000 rate for 1936.

Miss Perkins states that of the 46,000,000 employed, 12,000,000 are in agricultural labor, 3,230,000 are on emergency federal work, and that 30,950,000 are in nonagricultural employment. While the number of workers in industrial employment is somewhat less than it was in 1929, there are some industries—notably rayon, chemicals, wire work, clocks, watches



THE MAN IN

leather goods, enameled wear, and beverages which are employing more workers than ever before. Miss Perkins further explains that employment is not as large as it was at its peak in 1929, even though total industrial production has almost equaled the predepression level. This is due to the further introduction of machinery during the last six years, which relieved workers of jobs, and also to consolidations in industry which reduce the size of executive staffs.

Poll on the CCC

The work of the Civilian Conservation Corps is one of the most popular phases of the Roosevelt New Deal program. The recent poll conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion shows an overwhelming opinion in favor of the camps. Of those who voted in the poll 82 per cent favor the retention of the camps. The camps were the most popular on the Pacific coast where 87 per cent of the participants in the poll favored retaining them. However, the favorable vote was uniformly high, for in no region did it fall below 80 per cent. The Democrats who voted in the poll favored the retention in 92 per cent of the cases, while 67 per cent of the Republicans voted in favor.

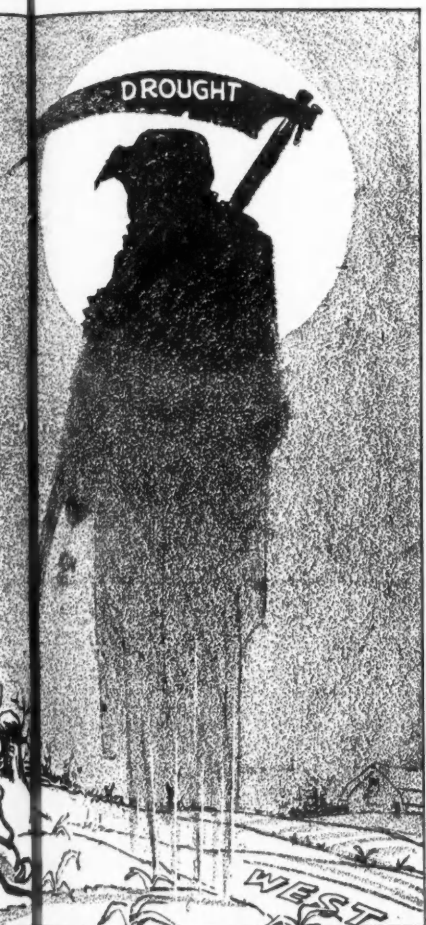
The Institute polled the voters on a second question: whether or not "military training should be made a part of the duties of those who attend" the camps. The vote was 77 per

the United States

Doing, Saying, and Thinking

ment in favor of military training, and here again the vote was uniformly distributed. To many people this was a surprisingly large vote in favor of military training. The Washington Post ventures the following editorial explanation:

Is it possible that more than three-quarters of the country would have no objection if the CCC camps were converted into institutions not far different from Hitler's steel-bound labor camps? It cannot be so. It must be that the question was misconstrued. . . . Everyone knows that large groups can be thrown together in close quarters and expected to live harmoniously only if a rigid and regular order is maintained. Even children's summer camps are operated on rigid schedules. It is fair to assume that a good proportion at least of the 77 per cent answering



IN HARVEST MOON —Doyle in New York Post

yes" to the second question understood "military training" to mean "military discipline."

For Posterity

In accordance with tradition Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has presented a dress to the Smithsonian Institution. This will be added to the collection called "the dresses of the mistresses of the White House" and will be the thirty-fifth in the historical display of gowns covering a period of 144 years.

Mrs. Roosevelt's dress is the one she wore at the inaugural ball. It is light blue, brocaded with silver. Dresses of presidents' wives are not put on display while their owners are in the White House. Mrs. Roosevelt broke an old precedent in making the presentation so early, but she said she preferred to have the museum care for the dress rather than keep it herself.

Dresses in the collection are mounted on the same classic face model but correspond to the measurements of the owners. Mrs. Roosevelt's will be the tallest figure, but there has been a trend toward increasing height since the 1880's.

What Price Speed?

Every week might be considered a safety week. Last year 36,000 people were killed or injured as a result of automobile accidents. There

is no reason to believe that the accident rate will be reduced substantially in the immediate future. The rate will not be reduced until highways are improved and widened, and grade crossings on railroads are eliminated. The accident rate will be further reduced when drunken as well as fatigued drivers do not take the wheel.

If the problem can be attacked on all of these sectors we shall have fewer accidents, provided a reasonable speed is maintained by motorists. Curtis Billings, writing in *Harper's* for July, comments upon the dangers of speed when he says:

A fatality seldom occurs to passengers of cars going less than 20 miles an hour; on the other hand, the majority of slain motorists were riding in automobiles traveling in excess of 45. Michigan records show that if you are going to have an accident there your chances of killing someone are five times as great if you are traveling over 50 miles an hour as they are at a rate under 20. Numerous states and cities have reduced automobile deaths promptly by lowering average driving speeds; and, conversely, they have experienced sharp and sudden increases in fatalities when they relaxed their control of speed.

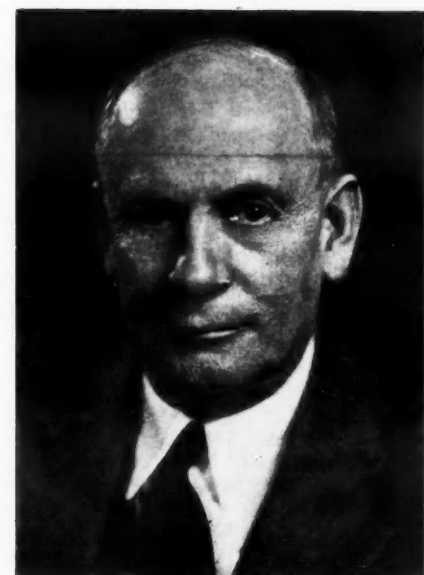
We shall not solve the traffic problem by conducting sporadic drives for safe driving. The problem can be solved only by improved highway engineering, by intelligent policing, and by drivers who need to learn a mastery of the cars they drive.

More Liquor Control

The United States Treasury Department announces an increase in the staff of the Bureau of Internal Revenue. The present staff of 4,000 men will be enlarged by 185 additional officials. This is done to effect a more rigid enforcement of liquor laws and to increase the collection of taxes on alcoholics for the fiscal year of 1937. It is also a move to curtail the illegal manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. The Bureau of Internal Revenue is responsible for the supervision of thousands of establishments which manufacture alcoholic beverages, including 267 distilleries, 175 bonded warehouses, 400 rectifying plants, and 4,300 manufacturers and dealers in industrial alcohol.

F. D. Seeks Savings

With a view to the ultimate balancing of the federal budget, the Roosevelt administration is looking to ways of economy. In a recent communication to all government departments and agencies, the President requested that they apportion their appropriations from Congress no only to effect all possible savings but also to set up "substantial reserves" for



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FILLS McCART'S SHOES
President Roosevelt may delay the appointment of a successor to Comptroller General McCart until after the election. Meanwhile, Richard N. Elliott, assistant comptroller general, is performing the duties of that office.



© Todd Aerial Mapping Service

TO FINISH THE JOB
The government plans to resume work on the massive triangle of federal office buildings in the national capital. The old post office (with the tower) and other buildings will be removed to make way for completion of the triangle.

meeting emergencies which may arise. At the same time the acting director of the budget, Daniel W. Bell, requested all department heads to keep their estimates for next year's appropriations to an amount less than the appropriations for the fiscal year of 1937.

Names in the News

George A. Plimpton, well-known New York publisher for more than a half century, died recently at the age of 80. While active in the publishing business, Mr. Plimpton distinguished himself as an author and also as a collector of rare books. He was said to own the largest collection of rare books in the world.

Harold F. Bidwell of Jersey City was recently awarded a gold medal for having driven automobiles for 38 years without an accident of any kind. The award was made to Mr. Bidwell in connection with a campaign for safe driving.

Fiorella H. LaGuardia, mayor of New York, has opened a summer city hall in the Bronx. This has been done, the mayor stated, to provide relief for members of his staff from the hot and congested area of Manhattan where the City Hall is located.

William E. Borah, United States senator from Idaho for 30 years, announces that he has "no intention of bolting" the Republican ticket in November. It is expected that the 71-year-old legislator will seek reelection to the Senate.

John D. Rockefeller, Sr., oil magnate and multimillionaire, recently celebrated his ninety-seventh birthday at his estate at Lakewood, New Jersey.

Elsie Janis, known to a wide circle of theater-goers a decade or more ago as a musical comedy star, announces that she plans to dispose of her property and devote her energies to charity. During the World War Miss Janis was famous for the entertainment she gave in war camps in the United States and abroad.

Thomas P. Gore, blind United States senator from Oklahoma and New Deal critic, failed to secure the Democratic nomination for senator in the recent Oklahoma primary. The nomination was won by Representative Josh Lee, a strong supporter of the Roosevelt policies.

In Brief

The fiftieth anniversary of the successful operation of the linotype machine was observed recently in New York. The first linotype was used in the composing rooms of the *New York Tribune* on July 3, 1886. Its operator, John T. Miller, then a young man, is still in the employ of the *New York Herald-Tribune* as a proofreader. The perfection of the machine was a great step in revolutioniz-

ing the printing of newspapers. Before its day all printed material had to be composed by the slow process of hand setting.

Another of the great engineering achievements of this century has been completed in the Triborough Bridge in New York City which is about to be opened to the public. This immense structure, constructed partly from PWA funds, cost \$63,000,000 and required seven years to build. The bridge, which will do much to relieve traffic congestion in New York, ties the Manhattan, Bronx, and Queens together by an eight-ply road over the Harlem and the East Rivers. It extends over Ward's Island and over Randall's Island and will absorb traffic from the East River Parkway on Manhattan. It will also relieve the east-west traffic to and from New Jersey which crosses the Hudson River on the Washington Heights Bridge at 125th Street. President Roosevelt will participate in the ceremonies dedicating the bridge and opening it to the public.

An exposition of power development during the last 50 years will feature the Third World Power Conference in Washington, September 7-12. More than 3,000 engineers and scientists from the United States and abroad will view the display. Models of Bonneville, Boulder, Norris, and other dams will be shown. Visitors will also see four electrified farms near



WHO SAID SCHOOL WAS OUT?

—Talburt in Washington News

Washington, one of which is the pet project of the Rural Electrification Administration.

New heights in aviation were reached in the National Glider Meet when Chester Decker of Glen Rock, New Jersey, traveled a distance of 146.6 miles. Coupled with this record was the announcement that in 1937 representatives of foreign countries will be invited to America to compete against this country's best pilots of motorless planes. Richard C. du Pont, who is in charge of planning the international meet, will sail for Germany on the *Hindenburg* on July 14 to visit gliding schools and study types of German aircraft.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The Reform Movement in 1884

THIS week we come to the campaign of 1884, which resulted in the defeat of the Republican party after a continuous rule since the election of 1860. In our discussion last week, we pointed to some of the reasons for the decline of the party's influence and showed how it was nearly defeated in the election of 1876. It was obvious that many loyal members of the party were becoming disgusted with the record of the party, and following the unsavory years of Grantism they had to yield to the demand for reform by nominating a man of Hayes' caliber. In each of the presidential elections following the Grant era, the Republicans' majority of the popular vote was declining perceptibly, and the Democrats succeeded in capturing the House of Representatives on more than one occasion.

Demands for Reform

While most of the demands for reform of the period we are now covering were on the political side, the cry being raised that politics should be cleaned up, underneath the surface there were other grievances. It is true, of course, that under the long Republican rule, the country had made great strides industrially and financially. The railroads, for example, were under suspicion because of their influence over politics and because of many of the dishonest practices to which they had resorted. There were complaints because of their custom of granting rebates to favored shippers, issuing free passes to persons of political influence, and making rates which discriminated against certain sections of the country.

Thus there arose demands for railroad regulation and for action against businesses which were beginning to unite into trusts or monopolies. Some of the more radical elements of the population even went so far as to demand public ownership and operation of the railroads and certain other large industries. There was a widespread movement for tariff reform because, it was felt, the high tariff rates benefited the large manufacturers at the expense of the rest of the country. Depression added to the difficulties and made many people question the soundness and the wisdom of the prevailing economic practices of the government.

When the Republicans met in convention in Chicago in 1884, they were confronted with serious difficulties in their selection of a candidate for the presidential nomination. Ominous signs had appeared on the horizon, and in a number of rock-ribbed Republican states, Democrats had been swept into office on the wave of the reform movement.

Within the party itself there were elements which were demanding a purge and a direct facing of the issues of the day. Should these progressive elements, composed of some of the best brains and intellectual leaders of the nation, be heeded? Did they represent the dawning of a new day, or were they merely cranks?

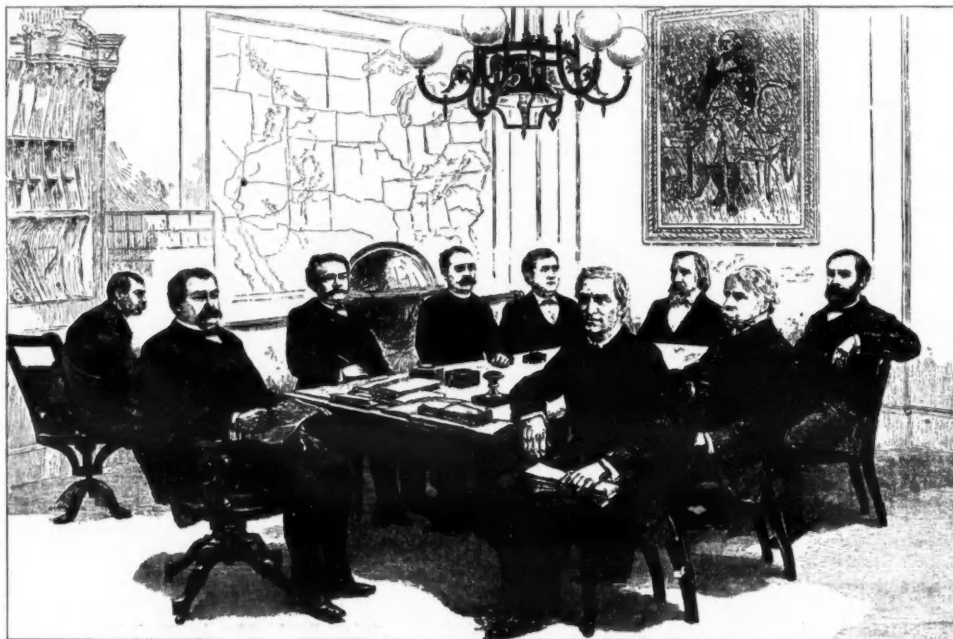


DAVID S. MUZZEY

The most prominent member of the party was at the time James G. Blaine, who had twice been a prominent contender for the nomination, had been speaker of the House of Representatives for six years, and had been an important secretary of state. But Blaine had many enemies in the party because of his past record. He had been accused of being involved in some shady railroad deals while speaker of the House, was

known to be opposed to civil service reform. He was entirely unacceptable to the reform elements of the party, but the regulars stampeded the convention for him.

The selection of Blaine immediately divorced a large section of the "reform" or "independent" element from the rest of the party. This group, popularly dubbed "Mugwumps," declared that it would be willing to support any honest and capable Democrat. This gave the Democrats their cue and they nominated Stephen Grover Cleveland, who had made quite a name for himself as governor of New York for the



THE FIRST MEETING OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S CABINET

—Culver Service

reforms he had inaugurated. Many of the practical politicians of the party were not too kindly disposed toward Cleveland, fearing that he might not be amenable to their wishes. Tammany Hall, for example, was bitterly opposed to him because of his record for reforms.

At first, the Republicans did not take seriously the defection of the "Mugwumps," considering them to be much the same as the Liberal Republicans of 1872, whose movement petered out almost as rapidly as it had been launched. The reform element of the party was treated as "Pharisees" because of its demand for purity in politics. Nevertheless, the split in the party was an important factor in the election of Grover Cleveland to the presidency.

There was really no sharp issue between the two parties in 1884. But it was by no means a dull or listless campaign. Both sides indulged in mudslinging the like of which the country had seldom known. The private life of both candidates was exposed to public view. Both Blaine and Cleveland were accused of immorality. In speaking of the level to which both parties sank in the campaign, E. E. Sparks, writing in the *American Nation* series, makes the following comment:

Mudslinging

The use of personalities in the campaign was due largely to the absence of a prominent issue between the parties; there was no line of demarcation; each declared for "good money," pure citizenship, and a tariff which would not destroy American industries or injure American workmen. These generalities furnished no ground and formulated no plan for a definite line of action to be pursued, whichever party should win. Reformers and the reform press, whose ambitions were to set a high standard in American politics, were disgusted with the low moral standard set for the campaign. The Mugwumps were partly responsible for having opened their guns on Blaine's record; but they did not foresee the direction the missiles would take. Said one editorial, "The campaign is one worthy of the stairways of a tenement-house, which reflects shame and disgrace on the whole country." The same

paper again asserted that "party contests have never before reached so low a depth of national humiliation."

The election, which took place November 4, was very close. It was known in advance that it would hinge on the state of New York. Cleveland's majority in that state was only 1,149 votes out of a total of 1,127,169. A few more than 500 votes cast the other way would have swung the election to Blaine. Naturally, the followers of Blaine charged the Democrats with fraudulent practices, but the candidate himself accepted the outcome with good grace.

Of course, the victory of the Democrats was due to a number of diverse causes. The independent Republicans played their part. More important than anything else, of course, was the general public revulsion against the corruption that had taken place in high places for a number of years. The pendulum had finally swung in the opposite

of the policies which conservatives had favored. The only really important legislation enacted during the first Cleveland administration was the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. And the importance of this measure cannot be overestimated, for it, too, was a sign of the changing times. It was the first attempt on the part of the national government to deal with the new economic problems. It was the first law, coming exactly a hundred years after the framing of the Constitution, to apply a clause of the Constitution to the regulation of big business.

THOUGHTS AND SMILES

In the European picture the demilitarized zones stand out very plainly. They're the ones full of soldiers. —JUDGE

We have carefully analyzed the election claims of Managers Farley and Hamilton, and guess how it comes out. This glorious country has 90 states. —New Yorker

If Don Quixote were here today, he wouldn't need to go about charging windmills all by himself. He could just run an ad in a newspaper and get all the followers he needed. —Birmingham News

Some men can be sure they are right only when all the rest of the world is against them. —Sacramento Bee

The tolerant mind is one which intends to put up with unpleasant ideas, no matter how difficult it may be, and insists on the right of others to express these unpleasant ideas. —Dr. George E. Vincent, former President of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Our fiscal structure is standing up very well. A Cleveland answers editor tells an inquirer that a half-dime dated 1851 is still worth five cents. —Detroit News

"Aren't there any optimists left?" a writer asks. Certainly. The beauty parlors are swarming with them. —Washington Post

If nature knows best, why do we have 17-year locusts in the same summer as campaign orators? —Ashland (Ky.) Independent

I consider it a matter of grave importance to reach into a man's life and take out a year, two years, four years, from the only life that he has. —Judge Ralph H. Smith, Allegheny County Criminal Court, Pittsburgh

New York now has air-cooled department stores, where formerly this feature was just confined to the complaint department. —JUDGE

Let your mind be the scene of opposing thoughts. We too rarely have competitive thinking. Where two thoughts oppose each other, contending until one gains supremacy is more fun than a prize fight. —Rev. Dr. Samuel Trexler, N. Y. City

SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

1. What is the position of the steel companies with regard to union labor?
2. What charges do the union workers make against their employers?
3. Which do you think is the more practical type of union, the industrial or the craft?
4. If there is a strike in the steel industry, what effect do you think it will have on the political campaign?
5. What forms of industrial control exist in Sweden?
6. Do you see any ways in which the United States could profit by the example of Sweden?
7. What revision is Russia making in its educational system?
8. Do you believe there should be military training in the CCC camps?
9. Is your community suffering directly from the drought? If so, what measures are being taken to relieve the sufferers?
10. What significant function of government was established by the Cleveland administration?

Among the New Books

Wallace Speaks Out

"Whose Constitution: An Inquiry into the General Welfare," by Henry A. Wallace (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock. \$1.75).

IT IS almost needless to say that the secretary of agriculture has been impelled to write this book by the many decisions in which the Supreme Court nullified New Deal reforms. Since Mr. Wallace is among the foremost spokesmen for the administration, his views take on particular importance at this time.

Though the title would lead one to believe that the author has thrown out a challenge, the volume itself is more in the nature of an appeal. As he regards the social and economic problems of today, Mr. Wallace thinks it naïve to assume that they can be met simply by amending the Constitution. Every amendment, he notes, is capable of varying interpretation, often to



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HENRY A. WALLACE

such an extent that it loses all power to deal with the difficulty for which it had been intended. It is only by once again looking to the spirit of the Constitution, as in the days of Chief Justice Marshall, that we can hope for an effective solution to present-day problems. He further maintains that an impartial study of the Constitutional Convention would indicate that the authors of the Constitution did themselves seek to set up a strong national government capable of dealing with national problems in a national way.

Mussolini's Italy

"Under the Axe of Fascism," by Gaetano Salvemini (New York: The Viking Press. \$3).

AS AN exile from Italy, Professor Salvemini might have been expected to write of fascism with the rancor born of personal hurt and indignity. It is therefore a measure of his intellectual honesty to note that the most impassioned opinion he permits himself may be found in the title of his book. Its content is amazingly free of either bitterness or harangue. If upon occasion he does venture into criticism, it is ever delicate, of an irony so like the gentle rain that it must perforce fall equally upon the just and the unjust.

However, as Dr. Salvemini, drawing his material almost exclusively from fascist sources, inquires into the aims of fascist Italy and compares them to what has been accomplished, there remains little that could not provoke justifiably violent criticism. Fascism seeks to adjust the relations between capital and labor and there is no doubt that Mussolini has adjusted them. No longer are there in Italy any labor troubles or strikes. There is a complete understanding between industrialists and their employees. Only, it is the sort of undisputed understanding which takes place between cat and mouse after they

have played hide-and-seek for a brief while.

It is equally true that after much delay, Il Duce has gotten around to establishing those "corporations" which lend their name to the "corporate" state. But thus far, the only concrete thing which they have accomplished is to grant labor the freedom to agree to wage cuts.

These are by no means the only aspects of fascism with which the author deals. Of necessity, they engage the larger part of his writing. But he also touches upon general conditions prevailing in Italy. With a devastating array of evidence, he indicates the poverty among the working classes, the extent of beggary, the subtle use of varied devices to make the people forgetful of their true difficulties.

Professor Salvemini also devotes some pages to inquiring into the motives behind the Ethiopian conquest, and his observations seem to confirm the suspicion, entertained by many observers, that the war was a subtle means of weeding out radical elements from the party. It seems to serve the further purpose of giving to the Italians an empire, which in default of better, they may be able to spread on their bread.

The League Today

"On the Rim of the Abyss," by James T. Shotwell (New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3).

WHILE the singular failure of the League of Nations to adjust recent crises spells to many its doom, it serves Dr. Shotwell with an opportunity for a keen and unbiased inquiry into what this international tribunal has accomplished in the several decades of its existence and what it may yet hope, despite current reversals, to accomplish. Dr. Shotwell is not interested either in coating the League with whitewash or in joining the funeral dirge that is being chanted both by the disillusioned and the cynical. While he notes that the League has several things to its credit, notably that for the first time in history it has brought about an open and frank discussion of international problems in place of the whispered irritations of pre-war statesmen, he realizes that if it is to serve any future purpose it must function differently than was intended by its founders.

It is this structural reorganization of the League which is the focus of his study, and he comes to the conclusion that the League's work can best be done if its scope is partly limited. He would have the League arrange for regional compacts which would localize every crisis. Thus, in the event of aggression he would not have every member invoke military sanctions against the aggressor. As was shown both in the Ethiopian and the Chaco wars, only those nations most vitally interested will be willing to assume the responsibilities of military action. According to Dr. Shotwell's plan—and it is one that is now inviting the attention of European statesmen—only those countries vitally concerned in any crisis will be expected to take military action against an aggressor while other members of the League will be expected only to invoke economic sanctions.

Such a plan, according to the author, would make it possible for the United States to join the League. He maintains that the absence of the United States from this organization has considerably weakened its strength if it has not completely impaired its effectiveness.

Scottish Highlands

"Clansmen," by Ethel Boileau (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. \$2.50).

IT IS a fine yarn that Miss Boileau has to tell, and finely she tells it. To be sure, she is guilty of several artistic heresies, as

when her story at one point becomes drowsy, almost inviting the reader to follow; or when she includes several pages of utterly pointless conversation having to do with the virtues of the capitalist system. But with all these faults—and they are really of such minor significance as to require no more than mention—her book is an excellent piece of work, rich in episode, well written, certain to give delight.

Set in the highlands of Scotland, with all of its untutored beauty, her story centers largely about Alan, last of the Stewart clan. It is a proud heritage to which he is born. His ancestors were stalwart men, fighting the English for the Scottish throne or pioneering in still unexploited colonies to amass for themselves great wealth. During his youth Alan is still able to enjoy the privileges of fortune. And it is only when his uncle becomes involved in rather indelicate financial practices that he is forced to make his own way. After spending some time in London, he decides to return to his ancestral manor and there, somewhat symbolically, he finds the life that he had sought. In the development of his estate, in the provision he makes for his tenants so that they may have work, he lives content, with a wife whom he adores as his companion.

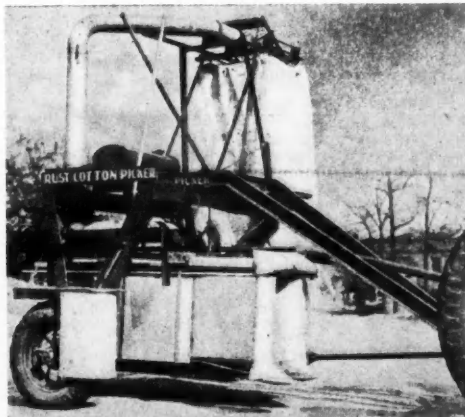
Closely allied with his fortunes are his faithful ghillie, Hector Stewart, and his cousin Hamish, a young, vain, undisciplined chap who goes through life with a sophisticated chip on his shoulder. How these three characters clash is a highly dramatic conclusion to Miss Boileau's novel. One may find in it a fairly clear echo of Thomas Hardy.

With the Magazines

"Two Men and Their Machine," by Victor Weybright. Survey Graphic, July, 1936.

JOHN and Mack Rust, brothers, recently invented a cotton-picking machine which may bring about vast social changes in the South. Tests have shown that their machine is capable of doing the work of 75 people. It is easy to operate, does not harm the plants, and when manufactured by mass production methods will cost less than the present price of \$2,000. Final experimental tests are being made in Southern cotton fields this year and the machine will be ready for commercial production next year.

While the Rust brothers could easily amass a fortune for themselves by the sale of their invention, they hesitate to place it on the market lest it strike a severe blow to the already impoverished sharecroppers and tenants of the cotton



THE RUST COTTON PICKER

fields. Consequently, they are now consulting with various agencies to determine how best to put their machine to use. Several suggestions have been made, any one of which is bound to have an effect upon the future of American economics. One plan provides for leasing the machine with the understanding that every lessor maintain a definite living wage for his employees. An-



ILLUSTRATION FROM THE JACKET OF "CLANSMEN" BY ETHEL BOILEAU

other is to release it through the Department of Agriculture and thus give the government the responsibility of adjusting the lives of those who will be displaced.

Whatever the solution, the author says, it may be that the Rusts will create a new South, as Eli Whitney created the old.

"The Dictators Discover Sport," by John R. Tunis. Foreign Affairs, July, 1936.

THROUGH the medium of sports, Mr. Tunis finds, dictators have been able to win over to their side the young people of their countries. This encouragement to physical exercise, far from being merely an attempt to provide either amusement or recreation, has three main purposes: to keep the young people busy, tired, and contented and thus avoid possible revolutionary movements; to serve as an instrument of propaganda, for every victory in international sport is made an occasion to proclaim the superiority of the state; and to build strong young bodies, capable of engaging in a victorious war.

Stalin was the first of the dictators to really discover the importance of athletics to the state. Today in Russia, all physical education is under the direct supervision of the government. Private sporting clubs have been abolished. And the athletic training, directed by state officials, includes practice in throwing hand grenades, riding, shooting, reading maps, and giving first aid. There is, however, no self-deceit about this matter among the Russians. They know and take it for granted that their athletic training is but a form of preparation for self-defense against enemies, if that defense should ever become necessary.

Mussolini has gone one step further than Stalin. He has identified sports activity with the state itself. While Russia has never permitted her athletes to compete with outsiders, Fascist Italy has encouraged its youth to enter every international competition and thus show the world the superiority of the Italian race.

It is to Germany, however, that one must look to find sports made entirely the plaything of politics. Hitler is taking advantage of athletics to pursue his own personal views. Only those who are Nazis are allowed to participate in athletics. The others have been removed from all privileges as being undesirable. Sports activity in the Third Reich is concentrated in the youth organizations, boasting 6,000,000 members. They are organized, says Mr. Tunis, along military lines and included among their exercises are trench-digging, creeping under barbed wire, bayonet drill, and gas defense. It is significant that all of these youth organizations are merged into one central body, under the control of the Nazi party, and all other groups have been outlawed. The Catholic Youth organization, however, has succeeded in maintaining itself, although with restrictions upon many of its activities.

Grim Labor War Threatened as Labor Moves to Organize Steel

(Continued from page 1)

The steel industry is the backbone of industrial America. It furnishes the raw material upon which almost every type of industry in the United States depends, either wholly or in part. As previously indicated, its resources are assessed at \$5,000,000,000 and it gives direct employment to 500,000 men.

Control of the industry is not widely distributed. A few great plants such as the United States Steel Corporation (dominated by J. P. Morgan), the Bethlehem Steel Corporation, the Republic Steel Corporation, and the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation handle the bulk of the nation's steel business. Moreover, they work closely together through the American Iron and Steel Institute. Price levels in the steel industry are not as flexible as in other industries where the law of supply and demand is allowed free play. On recent government contracts, steel plants, although located in different sections of the country, have consistently submitted identical bids. This practice of agreeing on prices has impaired competitive conditions in the industry.

Effects of Depression

Like other industries, and to a greater extent than many, the steel industry has suffered from the depression. In 1929 it was operating at 88 per cent of capacity. This dropped to 19 per cent in 1932 but has now gone back up to around 70 per cent, a good measure of recovery. Workers in the industry have not fared quite so satisfactorily. Two years ago they were in desperate circumstances. Writing at that time in the *New Republic*, Rose M. Stein gives the following description of conditions:

Before the 1929 crash, steel workers made fairly good wages and had acquired a comparatively high standard of living. Many owned homes, cars, and radios. Quite a number, especially among the foreign elements, had money in the bank and a lesser number owned securities. Since then they have lost all these, have had to endure cut after cut in wage rates, and at that get work only one or two days a week. Their living standard has approached starvation level. Few in the great groups of skilled and semi-skilled labor have averaged over \$500 a year throughout the course of the depression. The two wage increases of the last year have been more than offset by the increase in the cost of living.

Those lines were written in 1934 and since that time, of course, workers in the industry have progressed. The wage level, however, is not as high as in other industries. In a recent radio address John L. Lewis declared that "in contrast with hourly earnings of 65 cents in the steel industry in March 1936, bituminous coal mining in the same month was paying 79 cents, anthracite mining 83 cents, petroleum producing 77 cents, and building construction 79 cents."

Grievances

The specific grievances of the steel workers go beyond the matter of wages paid by employers. They charge that in many ways their rights and privileges have been trampled upon by the companies. They claim they are intimidated, threatened, and discharged if they become active in union matters. The state of mind of the dissatisfied employees (the proportion of dissatisfied to satisfied is difficult if not impossible to determine) was perhaps best set forth in a "declaration of independence" adopted by 5,000 workers in Homestead, Pennsylvania, on July 5 of this year:

Through their control over the hours we work, the wages we receive and the conditions of our labor, and through their denial of our right to organize freely and bargain collectively, the Lords of Steel try to rule us as did the royalists against whom our forefathers rebelled.

They have interfered in every way with our right to organize in independent unions, discharging many who have joined them.

They have set up company unions forcing employees to vote in their so-called elections. They have sent among us swarms of stool pigeons, who have spied upon us in the mills, in our meetings, and even in our homes.

They have kept among us armies of company gunmen, with stores of machine guns, gas bombs, and other weapons of warfare.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms.

We have used every channel of the so-called representation to put forward our requests and grievances. But all we have found is that the employers control these plans and refuse to grant requests which are not backed by independent organizations.

We have appealed to the government to protect us in our right to organize freely without interference from our employers.

We have presented cases of interference and discrimination without number to government labor boards. They have ruled that our employers must observe the law by reinstating discharged unionists and ceasing to interfere with their employees' right. But our employers have defied these rulings.

These are the charges which the steel workers who wish to increase the membership of the Amalgamated make against their employers. They believe that conditions will only be improved when all the steel workers are organized into one great union. The sincerity of this conviction may be judged from the closing words of the declaration: "In support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our steadfast purpose as union men, our honor, and our very lives."

View of Companies

The steel companies are prompt to accept the union challenge. They deny the charges made against them and are taking great pains to set their view before the public. A few days ago the American Iron and Steel Institute published a statement in 375 newspapers all over the country at a cost of several hundred thousand dollars. This statement read, in part, as follows:

A campaign to unionize the employees of the Steel Industry has been announced. . . . Persons and organizations not connected with the industry have taken charge of the campaign.

There are many disturbing indications that the promoters of the campaign will employ coercion and intimidation of the employees in the industry and foment strikes.

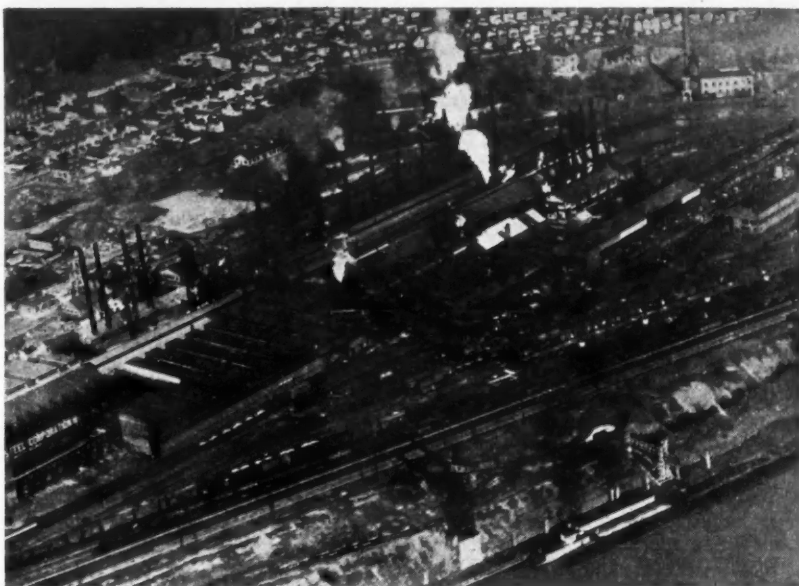
The objective of the campaign is the "closed shop," which prohibits the employment of anyone not a union member. The steel industry will oppose any attempt to compel its employees to join a union or to pay tribute for the right to work.

No employee in the steel industry has to join in any organization to get or hold a job. . . . Advancement depends upon individual merit and effort.

The steel industry believes in the principles of collective bargaining, and it is in effect throughout the industry.

The overwhelming majority of the employees in the steel industry recently participated in annual elections under their own representation plans and elected their representatives for collective bargaining. The elections were conducted by the employees themselves by secret ballot. One of the purposes of the announced campaign is to overthrow those plans and the representatives so elected.

The steel industry will use its resources to the best of its ability to protect its employees



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THE BATTLEGROUND

Air view of a modern steel plant. Violent disturbances threaten to break out in the steel areas during the campaign for unionization of workers.

and their families from intimidation, coercion and violence and to aid them in maintaining collective bargaining free from interference from any source.

The steel companies denounce professional labor leaders who, they say, are interested only in exacting dues from workers and in maintaining themselves in well-paid positions. They contend that industries dominated by labor unions are frequently torn with strife, and that workers and employers can solve their mutual problems without the help of outsiders unfamiliar with conditions in the industry.

John L. Lewis has struck back at the statement issued by the American Iron and Steel Institute, contending that "it amounts to a declaration of industrial and civil warfare." He has stated that if violence develops, it will not arise from the activities of union organizers. The C. I. O. will pursue its purpose "relentlessly and peacefully."

How peacefully it will be possible to carry on the drive for unionization remains to be seen. There is so much bitterness and suspicion that it hardly seems that organizers will be able to hold meetings and campaign among workers in steel towns without running into trouble. Already charges have been made that agents of the companies are interfering with the organization work. Further disturbances are feared, and possibly a major strike throughout the industry. The steel companies are as powerful as they ever were and are confident of their ability to kill the movement to organize their workers. On the other hand, John L. Lewis and the C. I. O. represent greater forces than the companies have ever had to reckon with. The union has men, money, and resources behind it. It will be a struggle between titans.

One factor, however, may weaken the C. I. O. and that is dissension in the ranks of labor itself. The C. I. O. does not have the full backing of the American Federation of Labor in its campaign to organize steel.

Its policies are bitterly disapproved by President Green and other leaders of the A. F. of L. The disagreement has reached such a point that the unions banded together in the C. I. O. may be suspended from the A. F. of L.

The conflict between Green and Lewis is a fundamental one and cannot be discussed extensively here. Briefly, Lewis favors the organization of labor along industrial lines. He believes that all the workers, skilled and unskilled, in a given industry should belong to a single union covering that entire industry. In order to promote unions of this type he has organized the Committee for Industrial Organization and has drawn 10 A. F. of L. unions, representing a third of the total membership, into its folds.

But William Green supports the factions in the A. F. of L. which prefer to organize labor along craft lines. They believe in organizing skilled workers according to their trades and irrespective of the industries in which they work. Thus there is a carpenters' union, an electrical workers' union, a machinists' union, and so on. The craft unions do not reach the number of workers which can be encompassed by the industrial unions because they include only skilled workers.

Opponents of John L. Lewis claim that he is interested in organizing the steel industry only in order to gain dominance over the craft unions in the A. F. of L. If he is successful in his present campaign he will most likely displace William Green as the leader of organized labor in the United States. However, he denies these accusations, and says that as head of the coal workers he is interested in organizing steel because by doing so he will strengthen the cause of unionism in an industry which largely owns the coal industry.

If there is an open break in the ranks of the A. F. of L. at the present time it may hinder the efforts of the C. I. O. in organizing the steel industry, although Lewis' group is strong both in numbers and in funds and may not be as embarrassed as many think it will.

Political Aspects

There is one other factor which remains to be considered; the effect of the unionization movement on the government and on the political campaign. The Roosevelt administration has strongly backed the views of organized labor. It endeavored to protect the rights of labor to organize free from employer interference in the NRA, and when that act was declared unconstitutional, in the Wagner Labor Relations Act. The Labor Relations Board has endeavored to apply the Wagner Act to the steel companies, but they have contested its constitutionality. Lower court decisions have been against the act and it will hardly be effective until passed upon by the Supreme Court.

Meanwhile the administration remains

(Concluded on page 2, column 4)



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C. I. O. LEADERS

Men prominent in the Committee for Industrial Organization plan the campaign to organize the steel industry. Left to right: Sidney Hillman, president, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; John L. Lewis, president, United Mine Workers and chairman of the C. I. O.; Philip Murray, vice-president, United Mine Workers; John Brophy, director, C. I. O.